

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 STATE 100349
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 /028 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:AF/S:KMCCORMICK:DH

APPROVED BY:AF/S:DKEOGH

AFR/SADAP:RSTACY

EUR/RPE:JPMC CLEAN (PHONE)

-----112923 210041Z /61

R 191908Z APR 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 100349

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC, PARIS FOR OECD

FOLLOWING REPEAT MASERU 0843 ACTION SECSTATE INFO LILONGWE
LUSAKA MAPUTO GABORONE MBABANE DATED APR 13:

QTE: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MASERU 0843

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ECON, AF, LT, BC, WZ

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS PAPER SADAP

REF: STATE 88256,

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 100349

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE SETS FORTH BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS
AND GENERAL GUIDELINES THAT SHOULD GOVERN APPROACHES, DISCUSSIONS
AND WORK PROGRAMS ON SUBJECT STUDY IN BOTSWANA, LESOTHO AND
SWAZILAND (BLS). TEXT HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND CLEARED BY OSARAC,
COUNTRY AID OFFICERS AND EMBASSY OFFICIALS. ACTION REQUESTED:
(A) CAREFUL PREPARATION IN ADVANCE OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS
BEING RAISED BY BLS OFFICIALS ON SADAP STUDY, ESPECIALLY US

ATTITUDE TOWARD EXISTING OR PROPOSED MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS;
(B) THAT ANY COURSE OF ACTION AVOID RAISING EXPECTATIONS OR
IMPLICATIONS THAT WOULD IN EFFECT NEUTRALIZE PRIORITY STATE/
CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES OR TACTICS TO ACHIEVE THEM;
AND (C) THAT APPROACHES BE TAILORED TO RESPECT OTHER DONOR
PRIMACY AND RECOGNIZE THE RISKS OF US GETTING OUT IN FRONT.
END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND. (A) SADAP WILL BE VIEWED BY MOST OFFICIALS IN
BLS COUNTRIES AS ANOTHER IN A SERIES OF NATIONAL AND SECTOR
STUDIES, ANALYSES AND REPORTS ON THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
CARRIED OUT OVER RECENT YEARS BY VARIOUS TEAMS AND ORGANIZATIONS:
NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL AND PRIVATE. A NUMBER OF SUCH STUDIES ARE
IN PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC PROJECTS, E.G., THE LESOTHO PROGRAM
CONSISTS LARGELY OF STUDIES. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WILL BE INTERESTED
IN WHAT DISTINGUISHES SADAP FROM THOSE ONGOING AND OTHERS THAT
HAVE PRECEDED IT;

(B) BLS GOVERNMENTS WILL BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN RELEVANCE
OF SADAP TO CURRENT POLICIES AND PROJECTS THAT HAVE DEVELOPED
OUT OF THEIR NATIONAL EXPERIENCE AND FELT NEEDS. IN BOTSWANA AND
LESOTHO, FOR EXAMPLE, NEW INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS ARE AT THE
STAGE OF FEASIBILITY STUDY OR DESIGN, WITH SWAZILAND ONLY A STEP
BEHIND. BOTSWANA'S HIGHEST MID-TERM PRIORITY IS TO ASSURE
CONTINUED SERVICE OF ITS RAILROAD LIFELINE, ITSELF THE OBJECT
OF THIRD INTENSIVE STUDY IN AS MANY YEARS (THIS ONE BY UK FIRM OF
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 100349

TRANSMARK). GOL'S CURRENT AND FUTURE NEEDS RE SOUTHERN PERIMETER
ROAD PROJECT ARE WELL-DOCUMENTED--AND A MATTER OF BOTH IMMEDIATE
AND LONG-RANGE CONCERN. BOTSWANA AND SWAZILAND STILL LIST ROADS AS
TOP DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. ALL THREE COUNTRIES HAVE LONG-RANGE
LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION PROJECTS, INCLUDING HYDROELECTCTRICAL
POWER SCHEME UNDER FEASIBILITY STUDY IN LESOTHO, ETC.;

(C) THE ATTITUDE OF THE US TOWARD MANY OF THESE PROJECTS HAS BEEN
ONE OF SKEPTICISM, CRITICISM OR (IN SOME CASES) FRANK OPPOSITION--
USUALLY ON SOUND ECONOMIC GROUNDS, SOMETIMES ALSO ON BASIS OF
"NEW DIRECTIONS" MANDATE. HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS WILL BE INTEREST-
ED, IN FIRST INSTANCE, IN LEARNING WHETHER SADAP PRESAGES A
CHANGE IN US ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE OR SIMILAR FUTURE PROJECTS. IN
APPROACHING COUNTRY OFFICIALS, THEREFORE, WE SHOULD HAVE
CLEARLY IN MIND HOW WE PROPOSE TO RESPOND TO LIKELY RENEWED
REQUESTS FOR US PARTICIPATION IN THESE PRIORITY VENTURES. IN SO
DOING, IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT WE HAVE HAD A GOOD DEAL OF
SUCCESS IN GAINING UNDERSTANDING OF CONGRESS' "NEW DIRECTIONS"
POLICY AND AVOIDING NON-VIABLE (E.G., HIGH RECURRENT COST)
INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS THAT ARE NOT CLEARLY DEVELOPMENT
CENTERED;

(D) AS INDICATED ABOVE AND AFFIRMED REFTTEL, FOCUS OF SADAP IS DEVELOPMENT. FOR BOTSWANA AND LESOTHO, HOWEVER, SECURITY AND STRIVING FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE COME FIRST AND DO NOT NECESSARILY OVERLAP, I.E., WHILE DEVELOPMENT USUALLY ENHANCES SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE, GOL AND GOB, WITH LIMITED RESOURCES, HAVE HAD TO SUBORDINATE FORMER TO LATTER. SUCCESSIVE FARAH MISSIONS AND REPORTS CONFIRMED BOTH GOL AND GOB IN THEIR VIEWS AND SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND PRIORITIES OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. IF WE ARE TO AVOID A NEGATIVE CLIMATE FOR SADAP WE SHOULD HAVE IN HAND CAREFULLY PREPARED RESPONSES FOR HOST GOVERNMENTS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF US CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS (CURRENTLY UNDER WAY, AND/OR OUTLINED IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS) FOR ENHANCING NATIONAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENT;
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 100349

(E) CONGRESSIONAL MANDATES AND ITS POWER OVER PURSE-STRINGS ARE NOT UNFAMILIAR TO HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, CONGRESS' INFLUENCE IS NOT UNANIMOUSLY REGARDED IN BLS STATES AS REASSURING, I.E., "NEW DIRECTIONS" POLICY IS OFTEN VIEWED AS IMPEDING ESSENTIAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS; REPORTING REQUIREMENTS INCLUDING THOSE ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROVOKED DISTINCTLY ADVERSE REACTIONS FROM LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND. CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE HAVE BOTH EXPRESSLY LINKED AID LEVELS TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN AID RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING OUR AGREED NATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, WE HAVE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT AID TO LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND BE KEPT WITHIN PRESENT LIMITES. TO KEEP CONGRESSIONAL/EXECUTIVE BRANCH POLICY CONSISTENT WITH AGREED NATIONAL GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, I URGE THAT THESE LIMITS BE RESPECTED AND THAT PROMISES OR IMPLICATIONS OF INCREASED ASSISTANCE OR NEW PROJECTS IN THE FUTURE NOT BE ALLOWED TO UNDERMINE OR NEUTRALIZE OUR LEVERAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THE CONGRESSIONAL ANGLE SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE AND SENSITIVITY TO ALL ITS ASPECTS.

3. PRINCIPLES. (A) EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH BLS OFFICIALS SUGGESTS THAT, WHILE TAILORING OUR APPROACHES TO FIT CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE BASIC PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD SERVE AS A GUIDE. THESE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) THE MORE REMOTE OR ABSTRACT THE SUBJECT, THE LESS ONE CAN EXPECT GENUINE LOCAL INTEREST AND MOTIVATION IN DEALING WITH IT. TO THE DEGREE THAT SADAP OBJECTIVES CAN BE RELATED TO HOST COUNTRY PLANS AND PROJECTS (ACTIVE AND POTENTIAL, OUR CHANCES INCREASE OF AROUSING RECIPROCAL INTEREST. THIS NORMAL MOOD OF PRAGMATISM OF MOST OFFICIALS IS CONSIDERABLY ENHANCED AT PRESENT BY URGENT, REAL PROBLEMS THEY FACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 100349

(B) ALL COUNTRIES WANT MORE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO MEET REAL (OR IMAGINED) GOALS. THE THREE BLS COUNTRIES ARE, IN THE OPINION OF MOST OBSERVERS, APPROACHING THE LIMIT OF THEIR ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY FOR ECONOMICALLY-VIABLE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. PARADOXICALLY, THE PROSPECT OF MORE AID WILL PROBABLY TURN OUT TO BE THE PRINCIPAL INCENTIVE OF HOST COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE WITH US. THE FACT THAT DONORS ARE COMPETING FOR "GOOD" PROJECTS IN ALL THREE COUNTRIES TENDS TO DILUTE THAT INCENTIVE;

(C) EVEN WHERE WE ENCOUNTER HOST GOVERNMENT INTERESTS, WE SHOULD BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH TRAINED LOCAL MANPOWER IS ABLE AND AVAILABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROPOSED SADAP ANALYSIS. BOTSWANA, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND, ARE CANDID IN ACKNOWLEDGING AT LEAST PRIVATELY THEIR DEPENDENCE ON EXPATRIATE EXPERTISE IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. SOME OF THE "TARGET" MINISTRIES HAVE ONLY ONE OR PERHAPS TWO LOCAL OFFICIALS (SOMETIMES INCLUDING THE MINISTER) HANDLING BOTH CURRENT BUSINESS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING. THE OBJECTIVE OF MAKING SADAP A COLLABORATIVE, COOPERATIVE EFFORT IS LIKELY TO BE FRUSTRATED IF IT DEPENDS UPON LOCAL INPUTS. OUR EXPECTATIONS SHOULD BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY;

(D) THE HIGHER RANKING THE HOST COUNTRY OFFICIAL TO BE VISITED, THE GREATER THE EXPECTATION AROUSED AND THE LESS THAT CAN BE EXPECTED IN TERMS OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION. IN PERHAPS A MAJORITY OF MINISTRIES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES, THE MINISTER IS BY NO MEANS THE BEST INFORMED OR MOST EFFECTIVE CONTACT. AS A MATTER OF TACT, I HAVE SUGGESTED INITIAL SOUNDINGS AT PERMSEC LEVEL. HE OR SHE WILL NORMALLY REFER SUBJECT TO PLANNING OFFICERS FOR CONSIDERATION BEFORE IT GOES TO HIGHER LEVELS WHERE GREATER EXPECTATIONS ARE AROUNDED.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: (A) GUIDANCE ASAP FOR USE IN RESPONDING TO HOST GOVERNMENT INQUIRIES (ALREADY AROUSED IN SOME INSTANCES BY INITIAL APPROACH), ON US ATTITUDE TOWARD MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, INCLUDING THOSE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ENHANCING
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 06 STATE 100349

SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENT;

(B) FURTHER GUIDELINES ON HOW WE CAN AVOID NEUTRALIZING HIGH PRIORITY STATE/CONGRESS-APPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES IN LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND GIVEN SADAP IMPLICATIONS OF HIGHER AID LEVELS.

5. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED TO APPROPRIATE EUROPEAN POSTS.
NORLAND UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PAPERS, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, STUDIES, BRIEFING MATERIALS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE100349
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF/S:KMCCORMICK:DH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780170-0124
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780438/aaaabgic.tel
Line Count: 226
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a64601ab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 88256
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2912673
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS PAPER SADAP
TAGS: ECON, AF, LT, BC, WZ, SF
To: LONDON BONN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a64601ab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014